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nations and to secure for the Hague tribunal a memorable increase of its practical importance. The nations interested in the controversy were so numerous and in many instances so powerful as to make it evident that beneficent results would follow from their appearance at the same time before the bar of that august tribunal of peace."

It has been universally acknowledged that the course which the President took in this matter was most wise and honorable, and that it would certainly greatly advance recognition by the nations generally of what he so felicitously calls "that august tribunal of peace."

Of the beneficent results of the appearance of so many nations at one time before the new tribunal of the world he speaks in enthusiastic, but none too emphatic, terms :

"Our hopes in that regard have been realized. Russia and Austria are represented in the persons of the learned and distinguished jurists who compose the tribunal, while Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and Norway, Mexico, the United States and Venezuela are represented by their respective agents and counsel.

"Such an imposingconcourse of nations presenting their arguments to and invoking the decision of that high court of international justice and international peace can hardly fail to secure a like submission of many future controversies. The nations now appearing there will find it far easier to appear there a second time, while no nation can imagine its just pride will be lessened by following the example now presented. This triumph of the principle of international arbitration is a subject of warm congratulation and offers a happy augury for the peace of the world."

On the general principle of arbitration as a substitute for war the President goes nearly as far as any except the most advanced advocates of this pacific method. He says:

"There seems good ground for the belief that there has been a real growth among the civilized nations of a sentiment which will permit a gradual substitution of other methods than the method of war in the settlement of disputes.

"It is not pretended that as yet we are near a position in which it will be possible wholly to prevent war, or that a just regard for national interest and honor will in all cases permit of the settlement of international disputes by arbitration; but by a mixture of prudence and firmness with wisdom we think it is possible to do away with much of the provocation and excuse for war, and at least in many cases to substitute some other and more rational method for the settlement of disputes. The Hague Court offers so good an example of what can be done in the direction of such settlement that it should be encouraged in every way. Further steps should be taken."

The President still leaves a place for war, but it is a much smaller one than he and other responsible heads of governments have usually felt to be necessary. He concedes freely that there are "more

rational methods for the settlement of disputes" than war. The Hague Court "should be encouraged in every way." What he means by "Further steps should be taken," we can only surmise, but we suspect he has reference to the negotiation of general treaties of obligatory arbitration, such as that recently signed between France and Great Britain.

On the whole, the President's treatment of this great subject is most satisfactory, and eminently worthy of him and of the country.

## The Rapprochement Between France and Great Britain.

Altogether the most hopeful augury in current international affairs is the *rapprochement* now consummating itself so rapidly between France and Great Britain.

This *rapprochement* is the more striking because it is between two powerful peoples which are not only of different race and language, but have been historically the most open and thorough-going rivals and enemies. Their mutual history until in recent times was one of almost perpetual quarreling and bloodshed. For nearly seven hundred years, from the middle of the twelfth century up to 1815, they spent one year out of every three in fighting. It would be impossible to reckon up the destruction of life, the woes, the material desolations, the financial losses, and the infinite moral damages of the great Anglo-French campaigns of these centuries, in which they spent their strength and resources trying to make the conquest of each other's lands or to inflict upon each other defeat and humiliation. The wounds of these campaigns have been deep and hard to cure.

It has not been many years since the spirit of re-creation and revenge entailed by these former conflicts was rife on both sides of the channel. One heard abuse and misrepresentation everywhere both in private and in public circles. Rumors and threats of open hostilities filled the columns of the daily papers of both countries. War was barely averted in the late fifties in the time of Napoleon III. No longer ago than the Fashoda incident, the old fires suddenly flamed up, and the fleets and armies of both countries were hurriedly put into readiness for action.

The change that has at last come, in which cordial friendship and generous appreciation are taking the place of the former distrust and defamation, is little less than a political miracle. The transformation is of course not yet complete and it may be many years before it is so. But the manner in which the *rapprochement* is now expressing itself, not only through the arbitration treaty recently signed, but in many other ways, makes any serious return to the old conditions under present circumstances practically impossible.

It must not be supposed, however, that the coming together of the two nations, just now manifesting itself so remarkably, is a sudden and unprepared phenomenon. If it were so, no confidence could be placed in its permanence. It has its roots far back in the past century. Ever since the days of the overthrow of the first Napoleon, intercourse between the two peoples, along both social and commercial lines, has been steadily growing. It could not be avoided. The forces of attraction and coöperation were powerfully active on both sides of the channel in spite of the hatred and abuse which still remains. To the Cobden Commercial Treaty of 1860, and the groups of men who secured it, perhaps as much as to any single set of influences, has been due the breaking down of the old walls of exclusiveness between the two peoples. This treaty, one of the greatest accomplishments ever effected by pacific diplomacy, made at a time when suspicion and ill will had gone to ruinous lengths, has for forty years been exercising its powerful influence for Anglo-French friendship and good understanding. It has shown them in considerable measure that the commercial and industrial interests of the two peoples run very close together; and when this is once done, political misunderstandings are sure soon to break down.

Again, the absence of actual war for so long a period has given the constructive forces of civilization opportunity to work measurably untrammelled, in their natural way, in weaving the lives of the two peoples together. It has been more than eighty years since the two countries were at war. The period of actual fighting between them ended with Waterloo in 1815. The fires of hatred and revenge have therefore had time to die away, while the continuous daily intermingling of the two peoples in all sorts of ways has built them together into a strong practical fellowship, with which sentimental dislike has not been able seriously to interfere. What direful results a recent war between them would have wrought may be easily judged from the case of Germany and France. Between these powers the feelings of revenge and of contemptuous fear left by the struggle of 1870 have only just now begun to yield after a third of a century, and years must yet pass, doubtless, before an arbitration treaty between them, like that just entered into by the French and English governments, can even be hopefully talked of.

A remarkable feature of this *rapprochement* between France and England is its genuineness, its freedom from sentimental pretense. In this respect it differs widely from most of the *ententes cordiales* of which we hear so much from time to time. These "cordial understandings" are usually the product of some political necessity, when a government feels itself sadly in need of an ally, or desires support in the carrying out of some disreputable enterprise. These *ententes* usually last only till the emergency which

created them has passed, and then the nations fall apart to seek new connections as occasion may require. In the case before us there seems to be no tinge of unworthy motive. The movement is in reality not a political one at all, and it is very doubtful if its value would be increased by a formal alliance, as suggested by Mr. de Pressensé's recent report to the Chamber on international affairs. It is a people's movement on both sides of the channel, and has gradually deepened and widened until the governments have felt themselves obliged to take cognizance of it. It is gratifying to know that the government leaders have done this willingly and sympathetically, but it is after all its basis in the sentiments and wishes of the people, as voiced by a number of distinguished leaders in both countries, which gives to the *rapprochement* its strength and its certainty to endure.

As the period of actual war between these two great and powerful nations came to an end with the fall of Napoleon I., so there is strong ground for believing that the arbitration treaty, which is the last and highest political expression of their growing friendship, will prove to be the beginning of the end of the unworthy distrust and recrimination which have so often disturbed their relations and threatened their peace, almost to the opening of this twentieth century. This at any rate ought to be so.

### Germany and South America.

It is high time that the masses of the American people of all classes should do a good deal of serious and careful thinking about the relations of this country to Germany in respect to South America. The reported remark of General MacArthur recently at Honolulu, that Germany will go to war with the United States in the near future, and that the Pacific will be the early field of hostilities, with Hawaii as the first point of attack, whether he uttered the sentiment or not, represents a considerable and very dangerous current of opinion which is frequently breaking out here and there not only at military dinners but elsewhere.

Recently Professor Small, head of the Department of Sociology of Chicago University, just home from Europe, is reported to have declared, in a most oracular way, that Germany is going to fight us in the near future for the commercial supremacy which she feels that she is in great peril of missing, and that the United States, if mindful of her interest, will begin at once to prepare for the inevitable struggle. The professor even exhorts the peace societies, doubtless in jest, to throw all their strength in favor of a large increase of the United States navy, as the only efficient means of ensuring peace with the Kaiser.

Notwithstanding the fact that we have for several years been treated to these lugubrious prophecies,